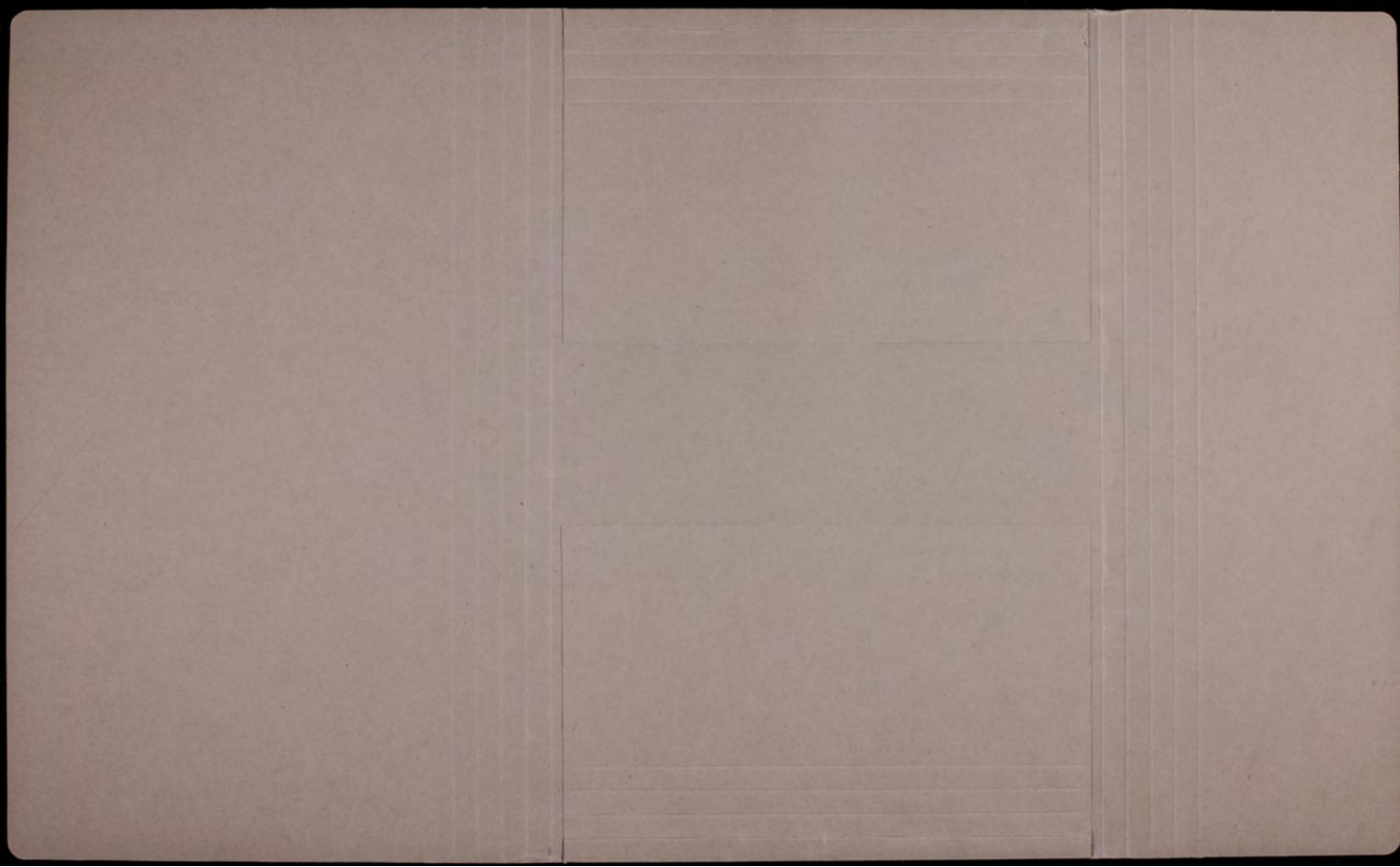


F.O.  
371

CLOSED  
UNTIL

1992

159146



1961

V

North and East African Department

VS1821/61.

SUDAN

FROM Uganda (comm)  
to Co.  
CONFIDENTIAL

No. 263.  
Dated Sept. 13.  
Received Sept. 20.

SUBJECT:

Indian Refugees.  
Agrees with proposed procedure  
for surveillance.

References

MINUTES

See submission  
LMS  
219

(Printing Instructions)

159146

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

Abel, 27/9/61

(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*Entered*

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

**FROM UGANDA** (Acting Governor)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 13th September, 1961.

R. 13th "

11.55 hrs.

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES

20 SEP 1961

VS1821/61.

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**  
**PERSONAL No. 263**

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " Governor Tanganyika)

" " British Ambassador } PERSONAL  
Khartoum } No. 46.

(S. of S. please pass to Khartoum)

Your telegram PERSONAL No. 345.

Sudanese Refugees.

I agree with procedure outlined in your  
telegram.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for  
repetition to Khartoum)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/62.

FROM Tanganyika  
to C.O. (comm'd)

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 346  
Dated Sept. 15.  
Received Sept. 20.

SUBJECT:

Sudan refugees. -  
Present whereabouts and intentions  
of SATUNINO, ODUITO and DENG.

References

165.

MINUTES

See submission

Ans  
219

A) Tanganyika to C.O. (comm'd) 352 - 2079.

Now see - 165

Ans  
219

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

10/10/62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*Entd*

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES

20 SEP 1961

VS1821/62.

**FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 15th September, 1961

R. 15th " " 15.05 hours.

**IMMEDIATE**

**PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL**

Personal No. 346.

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to British Ambassador, Khartoum

(S. of S. please pass)

" " Governor, Uganda, Personal No. 112.

Your telegram Personal No. 345 to Governor, Uganda repeated to me as Personal No. 402.

I apologise for the delay in replying.

2. Present position is as follows:-

(a) Saturnine.

Person named does not wish to return to Uganda. Nor will he give any undertaking not to take part in political activities if he is permitted to remain here. He wishes to go to any other country prepared to accept him. It is our intention to inform him that unless he gives the necessary undertakings he will be repatriated to Uganda.

(b) Joseph Oduho.

Person named wishes to return to Uganda. It is our intention to allow him to proceed.

(c) Deng

Person named has given undertakings required of him and it is therefore proposed to let him remain in Tanganyika. He will be kept under such surveillance as is possible.

3. Situation has developed in an embarrassing way in the last 24 hours in that subjects (a) and (b) can not at present be traced. Subject (c) says that they are still in Dar es Salaam and looking for new lodgings but his word is not worth much.

4. Enquiries are continuing and I will telegraph you immediately when definite information becomes available.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

**FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 20th September, 1961.

R. 20th " "

14.40 hrs.

*26/9*  
RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES

27 SEP 1961

VS1821/62 (PA)

**IMMEDIATE**

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**

**PERSONAL No. 352**

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " H.M. Ambassador, Khartoum

(S. of S. please pass).

" " Governor, Uganda, PERSONAL No.116.

*VS1821/62*

My telegram PERSONAL No. 346.

Sudanese Refugees.

There is still no trace of Saturnino and Oduho.

2. Deng left Dar es Salaam by bus for Arusha on Saturday, 16th September, leaving certain possessions behind in his hotel here and announcing that he was visiting friends in Arusha for the week-end. He has, however, not returned to Dar es Salaam. Efforts are being made to trace him in Arusha but I fear that it is possible that he may have left the territory.

3. Deng has in his possession Sudanese passport No. 25418 issued in Khartoum on 17th May, 1960.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office (African Dept.) - Mr. John

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS1821/63

FROM Uganda.  
(comm'd by CO)

No. 266  
Dated Sept. 20.  
Received Sept. 22.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.  
Terms of surveillance if SATE NINO  
and ODUNTO return to Uganda.

References

162.

1821

MINUTES

MS  
25/9

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

QH  
27/9/62

(Main Indexed)

AS  
9/10/62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

RECEIVED IN

ARCHIVES

22 SEP 1961

VS1821/63.

**FROM UGANDA (Acting Governor)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 20th September, 1961.

R. 20th " " 21.00 hrs.

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**  
PERSONAL No. 266

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to O.A.G.. Tanganyika,  
British Ambassador, Khartoum  
(S. of S. please pass) Personal No.48.

Governor Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 346,  
to you repeated to me Personal No. 112.

Sudan Refugees.

If Saturnino and Oduho return to Uganda it is my  
intention

- (a) to ask the Director of Public Prosecutions to advise whether they should be prosecuted for breach of terms of their permits;
- (b) to require them to reside in a remote area in the Southern part of Karamoja district, preferably in the missions under direct supervision of European Verona fathers.

2. If they are traced and if they are to be returned to Uganda I should be grateful if Governor Tanganyika would give maximum possible warning and inform me by which route they will travel. I should have no objection to information in this telegram being conveyed to the Sudanese Government if this would be helpful.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. A.J.M. Craig  
" " (African Dept.) - Mr. Johns

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/64.

FROM F.O. Submission  
Mr. Beith.

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated Sept. 22.

Received Sept. 26.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

The three refugees in Tanganyika have escaped.

The note to the Sudan M.F.A. will have to be redrafted.

References

159.

MINUTES

W.M. 28/9

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

Alf. 3/10/62

(Main Indexed)

W.H. 9/11/62

RECEIVED IN

ARCHIVE

26 SEP 1961

VS1821/64.

CONFIDENTIAL

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA AND TANGANYIKA

Flag A

On September 8 H.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Khartoum was instructed to speak to the Sudan Minister for Foreign Affairs about the question of the refugees. There were nine of these. Six were still in Uganda, where they were being kept under surveillance. Three had escaped from Uganda to Tanganyika, and we asked the Governor of Tanganyika to ensure that they also would be kept under surveillance. The Sudanese were to be told of the arrangements for surveillance and promised that we would ensure that they indulged in no political activities. But it was to be made plain that we could not return the refugees to the Sudan. Mr. Brenchley asked us to let him reinforce this

Flag B

communication with a note which he sent to us in draft.

2. While we and the Colonial Office were looking at this draft,

Flags C  
and D

the three refugees in Tanganyika all disappeared and cannot be traced. The Governor of Tanganyika has also reported that one of them, before disappearing, refused to give an undertaking not to take part in political activities while in Tanganyika.

Flag E

Meanwhile Mr. Brenchley has heard privately that another of them had written to the Reverend Michael Scott, asking his help to get to the United Kingdom.

3. Unless the Colonial authorities can deal with this situation quickly and firmly we shall have to reconsider what we say to the Sudanese. We can afford to wait another day or two to see what transpires. Meanwhile I submit a draft telegram designed to warn Mr. Brenchley that we are reconsidering the position.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal  
Lord Lansdowne  
Mr. Thomas

*This is really appalling! At any rate it shows that U.D.T. are not police states!*

*J. G. S. Beith*  
September 22, 1961.

*ll. 229*

CONFIDENTIAL

*Entered  
at -159*

V

North and East African Department

1961

SUDAN

VS1821/65

FROM Tanganyika  
to Co. (cont'd)

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 359  
Dated Sept. 26.  
Received Sept. 27.SUBJECT: Refugees -  
DENG is still in Dar - es - Salaam.  
He has complained about restrictions  
and might apply for a visa for the U.K.

1821

References

/62.

MINUTES

See Submission

LMS  
4/10

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

AD  
9/11/62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

① *Mr. Secretary to see*

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

② *enter*

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

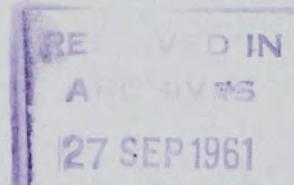
**FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 26th September, 1961.

R. 26th " "

10.25 hrs.



**PRIORITY**

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**

**PERSONAL No. 359**

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " British Ambassador Khartoum (S. of S. please pass)  
and O.A.G. Uganda, Personal No. 122.

My telegram Personal No. 352. *✓? 162(A)*

Deng has re-appeared in Dar es Salaam. He maintains that he has no knowledge of whereabouts of the other two refugees. He has complained of restrictions placed on his activities by Tanganyika Government. Attitude of Tanganyika Government is that they cannot permit Tanganyika to be used as a base for activities against another independent African state. Deng is well aware of position but claims that restrictions have been instigated by H.M.G. Deng now states that he is thinking of applying for a visa for Britain.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

---

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office (African Department) - Mr. Johns.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS1821/66

FROM F. Minifie,  
Mr Scriver,

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated

Received

Oct. 5.  
Oct. 10.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

The revised Note to the Sudan M.F.A.  
should now be handed over.

821

References

157.

MINUTES

WMS

16/10

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Off) Mr Brenchley, Hartmann  
from Mr Scriver. 9/10  
Bc) F.D. Webber, C.O. 9/10

(Action completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

VS1821/66  
(renovated)

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
10 OCT 1966  
VS1821/66

SUDAN REFUGEES

Flag A      On September 22 we telegraphed to Khartoum to say that in view of the disappearance of three of the refugees (Saturnino, Oduho and Deng) from Dar-es-Salaam, we would telegraph instructions regarding the Note to be presented to the Sudan authorities as soon as possible. The submission made

Flag B      at the time is at -/64. Since then we have heard from

Flag C      Tanganyika that Deng has reappeared, but there is no information about the whereabouts of the other two refugees.

2.      In fact the problem of trying to keep control of these people, if they are unwilling to co-operate, is probably insuperable, particularly given the difficulty that the Governors cannot count on their own Ministers. But it is a pity that the Governors were not more frank about this in the first place.

3.      Our original instructions to Mr. Brenchley were contained

Flag D      in our telegram No. 1060 to Khartoum. They provided for an

Flag E      oral communication. Mr. Brenchley told us in his telegram No. 721 that he wished to reinforce his oral communication with a Note or aide-mémoire, and he sent us a draft.

4.      In fact that draft was careful not to make too many promises, and it does not need a great deal of amendment to make it fit the real facts of the situation. I attach the draft showing how it might be so amended. The Colonial Office concur in the proposed amendments.

Flag F      5.      It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But the Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later, particularly if the two were to start indulging in political activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new bolt-hole. It would be most unfortunate if this were to

CONFIDENTIAL

/happen

CONFIDENTIAL

happen before the Sudanese had heard anything from us. I think therefore that we must now tell Mr. Brenchley to go ahead and put in the revised version of his Note. I submit a draft letter to him accordingly, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. It will reach Khartoum on October 10 and there is therefore no need to telegraph.

R. S. Scrivener  
(R. S. Scrivener)  
October 5, 1961.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal

Lord Lansdowne

Mr. Thomas

This is in line with  
earlier instructions approved  
by the CPS. The modifications  
resulting from charged circ.

l.P

6x

Leave to move  
N.S.  
4/0

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

enclosure to be typed.

9/11/20

9/1.

+1

Registry

No.

VS1821/66

CONFIDENTIAL

|               |      |
|---------------|------|
| Top Secret.   | RSS  |
| Secret.       |      |
| Confidential. | 5/10 |
| Restricted.   | X    |
| Open.         |      |

Draft. Flag A

Letter to:

Mr. Brenchley,  
Khartoum

Flag C

From:

Mr. Scrivenar

Flag F  
Copy:

Mr. Webber,  
Colonial Office

In our telegram No. 1102 of September 22 we undertook to telegraph further instructions about the Sudanese refugees. Since then we have seen the Governor of Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 359 of September 26 reporting the reappearance of Deng. But it seems quite clear that we cannot, as things are, give the Sudanese the assurances contained in the draft Note which you sent to us on September 12.

2. On the other hand that draft was careful not to make too many promises and it does not need a great deal of amendment to make it meet the real facts of the situation. I enclose a revised version, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. You will see that we have

(i) omitted, in the second paragraph, the passage about unfavourable publicity and the attitude of African Ministers, which the Colonial Office would like you to communicate orally and not in writing;

(ii) brought the third para. up to date; and

/(iii)



(iii) modified the fifth and the beginning of the sixth paragraphs, dealing with assurances, and run them into one paragraph.

3. It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But we assume that the Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later, particularly if the two were to start indulging in political activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new bolt-hole.

4. In the circumstances we suggest that you should now go ahead and put ~~in~~ this revised version. Your oral statement will of course also have to be modified somewhat from the lines set out in our tel. No. ~~ME~~ 1060 of Sept. 8, at any rate so far as para. 1(c)'s application to Tanganyika is concerned.

Flag D

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

ll  
67a

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry  
No.

Top Secret.  
Secret.  
Confidential.  
Restricted.  
Open.

KP  
TFB

Draft. M.F.A.

Note No. .....

Fair Draft  
172

Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan and have the honour to refer to the latter's Note No. MFA/SCR 36.H.3 of May 20 about certain Sudanese nationals who have recently taken refuge in Kenya and Uganda.

On instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the Embassy wish to inform the Ministry as follows. Most careful consideration has been given by Her Majesty's Government and the East African Governments concerned to the request of the Sudan Government that these persons should be returned to the Sudan. The Ministry will realise this from the long delay in replying to their Note under reference. Her Majesty's Government have been anxious to meet the wishes of the Sudan Government whose friendship and co-operation they value highly. But ~~they~~ have had to take into account not only the danger of unfavourable publicity, to which reference has already been made, but also the attitude of African Ministers in Uganda and Tanganyika, both of which, and particularly the latter, are ~~now~~ rapidly approaching independence. It has now become clear, as it was not earlier this year, that to return the refugees against their will would be politically unacceptable in the territories concerned. Any attempt to do so would cause a major outcry and would be likely

*tell ~~Quint~~ a  
Sudanese  
Official*

to embitter relations between the Sudan and future African Governments in their neighbour territories for a long time to come.

Her Majesty's Government have therefore come to the conclusion that the ~~only~~ <sup>best</sup> possible course is to let the men stay where they are while taking all practicable steps to ensure that they do not engage in political activities. They wish the Ministry to know that in addition to those mentioned in the Ministry's Note under reference the following two Sudanese have also recently crossed into Uganda . . . . :-

Aggrey Jaden, a former Assistant District Commissioner

Marko Marjan, a former member of the Sudanese Parliament.

Of the total of nine refugees, ~~Saturnino Lahore, William Deng and Joseph Oduho are in Tanganyika, having unfortunately managed to escape from surveillance in Uganda.~~ Her Majesty's Government deeply regret that this should have happened. The remainder are all in Uganda, but none of them has been allowed to remain in the Northern Province bordering on the Sudan. Of the six refugees in Uganda, employment has been found for four and it is hoped that employment will be found shortly for the other two also.

In their Note No. MFA/SCR/36.H.3 of 11th July the Ministry stated that it had come to their knowledge that Deng was then in Addis Ababa in possession of a British passport.

The details of Deng's movements before he

reached/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry  
No.

Top Secret.  
Secret.  
Confidential.  
Restricted.  
Open.

Draft.

The Govts. of Uganda and Tanganyika will do everything possible to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. But H.M.G. cannot give an absolute guarantee that these men will never be able to escape, as Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho have done, any more than, they presume...

reached Tanganyika are not known to the Embassy, but they can assure the Sudan Government that Deng was not issued with a British passport or any other kind of British travel document.

X

The Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika have undertaken that everything possible will be done to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. The refugees have been given written notice that if they break these conditions they are liable to prosecution. In the case of Saturnino Lahore the authorities of his church have also given assurances that he will be kept under strict ecclesiastical discipline.

In spite of these arrangements, Her Majesty's Government cannot give an absolute guarantee that the men will never be able to escape, any more than, they presume, the Sudan Government could guarantee that no further refugees will cross into Kenya or Uganda. To enable such a guarantee to be given, a twenty-four watch on the men would be required, which is quite beyond local resources. And the nature of the terrain in the region makes it difficult to prevent illegal crossings of the borders, as it does between the Sudan and neighbouring territories. Nevertheless everything possible will be done to prevent escapes.

Her Majesty's Government recognise that the Sudan Government will be disappointed at this decision. But they hope that they will accept it, in the light of the above explanation, as the best possible in the circumstances and that they may come to regard it, as Her Majesty's Government do, as the solution which, in the long term, is in the best interests of all the governments concerned and of good relations between them.

U/E ....

LL  
GZ

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

(VS 1821/66)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

October 9, 1961.

In our telegram No. 1102 of September 22 we undertook to telegraph further instructions about the Sudanese refugees. Since then we have seen the Governor of Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 359 of September 26 reporting the reappearance of Deng. But it seems quite clear that we cannot, as things are, give the Sudanese the assurances contained in the draft Note which you sent to us on September 12.

---

2. On the other hand that draft was careful not to make too many promises and it does not need a great deal of amendment to make it meet the real facts of the situation. I enclose a revised version, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. You will see that we have

(i) omitted, in the second paragraph, the passage about unfavourable publicity and the attitude of African Ministers, which the Colonial Office would like you to communicate orally and not in writing;

(ii) brought the third paragraph up to date; and

(iii) modified the fifth and the beginning of the sixth paragraphs, dealing with assurances, and run them into one paragraph.

3. It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But we assume that the Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later, particularly if the two were to start indulging in political activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new bolt-hole.

4. In the circumstances we suggest that you should now go ahead and put in this revised version. Your oral statement will of course also have to be modified somewhat from the lines set out in our telegram No. 1060 of September 8, at any rate so far as paragraph 1(c)'s application to Tanganyika is concerned.

(R. S. Scrivener)

T. F. Brenchley, Esq.,  
KHARTOUM.

CONFIDENTIAL

Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy present  
their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan and have  
the honour to refer to the latter's Note No.

M.F.A. MFA/SCR 36.H.3 of the 20th of May about certain  
Note No. ..... Sudanese nationals who have recently taken  
refuge in Kenya and Uganda.

On instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the Embassy wish to inform the Ministry as follows. Most careful consideration has been given by Her Majesty's Government and the East African Governments concerned to the request of the Sudan Government that these persons should be returned to the Sudan. The Ministry will realise this from the long delay in replying to their Note under reference. Her Majesty's Government have been anxious to meet the wishes of the Sudan Government whose friendship and cooperation they value highly. But it has now become clear, as it was not earlier this year, that to return the refugees against their will would be politically unacceptable in the territories concerned. Any attempt to do so would cause a major outcry and would be likely to embitter relations between the Sudan and future African Governments in their neighbour territories for a long time to come.

Her Majesty's Government have therefore come to the conclusion that the best course is to let the men stay where they are while taking all practicable steps to ensure that they do not engage in political activities. They wish the

## Ministry

Ministry to know that in addition those mentioned in the Ministry's Note under reference the following two Sudanese have also recently crossed into Uganda ....:-

Aggrey Jaden, a former Assistant District Commissioner

Marko Marjan, a former member of the Sudanese Parliament

Of the total of 9 refugees, Saturnino Lahore, William Deng and Joseph Oduho have unfortunately managed to escape from surveillance in Uganda. Deng is in Tanganyika. Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho are believed to be there as well, but their whereabouts are at present unknown. Her Majesty's Government deeply regret that this should have happened. The remainder are all in Uganda, but none of them has been allowed to remain in the Northern Province bordering on the Sudan. Of the six refugees in Uganda, employment has been found for four and it is hoped that employment will be found shortly for the other two also.

In their Note No. MFA/SCR/36.H.3 of the 11th of July the Ministry stated that it had come to their knowledge that Deng was then in Addis Ababa in possession of a British passport. The details of Deng's movements before he reached Tanganyika are not known to the Embassy, but they can assure the Sudan Government that Deng was not issued with a British passport or any other kind of British travel document.

The Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika will do everything possible to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their

place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. But Her Majesty's Government cannot give an absolute guarantee that these men will never be able to escape, as Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho have done, any more than, they presume, the Sudan Government could guarantee that no further refugees will cross into Kenya or Uganda. To enable such a guarantee to be given, a twenty-four watch on the men would be required, which is quite beyond local resources. And the nature of the terrain in the region makes it difficult to prevent illegal crossings of the borders, as it does between the Sudan and neighbouring territories. Nevertheless everything possible will be done to prevent escapes.

Her Majesty's Government recognise that the Sudan Government will be disappointed at this decision. But they hope that they will accept it, in the light of the above explanation, as the best possible in the circumstances and that they may come to regard it, as Her Majesty's Government do, as the solution which, in the long term, is in the best interests of all the governments concerned and of good relations between them.

U/E ....

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL  
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 791

D: 1.14 p.m. October 12, 1961

October 12, 1961

R: 1.32 p.m. October 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 791 of October 12  
Repeated for information to:

Governor Uganda

Governor Tanganyika

and Saving to:

Governor Kenya [all personal]

Scrivener's letter V\$1821/66 of October 9: Sudanese  
Refugees.

In the absence of Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs  
in the United States, I today delivered to the Permanent Under  
Secretary of State of the Ministry revised Note as agreed with  
the Colonial Office. I made oral points about the attitude of  
African ministers and the tightening up of surveillance in  
Uganda.

2. Mohammed Osman Yassein, who has always held strong views  
on this subject, reacted even more violently than I expected.  
He continually interrupted my statement of the position and  
treated me to a long angry outburst in Arabic at the end of it.  
The main points he made were:

- (a) Her Majesty's Government were still responsible for  
Uganda and Tanganyika and could not shuffle off their  
responsibilities on to African ministers or anyone  
else.
- (b) In any case, if we had returned refugees as soon as  
they were discovered we should have acted before  
Tanganyika and Uganda had approached so close to  
independance.

/(c)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Khartoum telegram No. 791 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

- (c) If the Governments in British East Africa were not prepared to cooperate with the Sudan Government, the Sudan Government would have to act accordingly in its dealings with them.
- (d) Promises of surveillance were evidently worthless and he could only conclude that many authorities [grps. undec.] plot to infiltrate the whole of East and Central Africa including Southern Sudan.

3. I did my best to counter these wild charges despite the weakness of our position on certain points. My guess is that when he has had time to think things over he will simmer down and that reaction from other members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be mild by comparison. Some officials of the Ministry of the Interior may have strong feelings but they too will no doubt get over them. The Minister of the Interior is also in the United States but I will speak to him on his return.

Foreign Office pass Governors Uganda 61 and Tanganyika 17 and Saving Governor Kenya 24.

[Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition to Uganda and Tanganyika. Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition saving to Kenya]

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United Nations Department  
Information Policy Department  
Information Research Department

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## V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/67

1961

FROM Chancery  
Khartoum, 6  
NEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 1591

Dated Oct. 3.

Received Oct. 4.

## SUDAN

## SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.  
 Encloses a copy of a letter from  
 William DENG to Colonel de Robec  
 enclosing a copy of one to the  
 Reverend Michael Scott.

## References

159.

## MINUTES

This is rather a pitiful story, but I am  
 afraid that Mr Deng and his friends  
 will have to reconcile themselves to 'Arab  
 domination'. I suppose that we shall be  
 hearing from Mr Michael Scott about this.  
 Let us hope that he directs his fire towards  
 the Sudan Embassy.

The name of Clement Mboro mentioned on  
 page 3 of the letter is a new one. The  
 others are as recorded.

D  
Dobles 11/60  
(RM Town)

Reserve Dept  
(African Section)  
IRD acr 13/10  
F/TU

N.S.

"10

This thorny question has been studiously  
 avoided by Soviet commentators lately.

Res 12/60

Arab Bureau  
13/10

CONFIDENTIAL

(1591)



BRITISH EMBASSY,  
KHARTOUM.



Dear Department,

With reference to our telegram No. 732 of September 18 about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda and Tanganyika, we enclose a copy of a letter which William Deng wrote to Colonel de Robeck on August 29, enclosing a copy of one to the Reverend Michael Scott.

----

We are sending copies of this letter with enclosure to Dar Es Salaam and Entebbe.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

North & East African Department,  
Foreign Office,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

P. O. Box 1453, Kirk Street,  
Dar-Es-Salam, Tanganyika,  
East Africa.

29th August, 1961.

Colonel P. de Robeck,  
20 Philbeach Gardens,  
London, S. W. 3.

Dear Sir,

I would be glad to know if you have received my letter which was written from Kampala in about April or May this year.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter addressed to Reverend Micheal Scott who has been introduced to me as a man who would be useful in our case. With it is a copy of a memorandum much of which is known to you. I have suggested to Rev. Scott that you know something about me in case he wants a reference in England and I think you are one of the British Officials who has not forgotten the South nor will you be forgotten by the South either. I think therefore that you will do all in your power to recommend our case to Rev. Scott for financial assistance. You can also let me know if there are any Organisations in England which might be interested to give us both moral and financial help.

The latest news from the Southern Sudan is that M. T. Tafeng who was released from prison this year has shot four Monodukur Officers in Torit and disappeared into the jungles and is believed to be joining those who are still fighting in the forest. Clement Mboro, Assistant Governor who was posted to Port Sudan has left the Country with all his family and entered Ethiopia. He is believed to be making for East Africa. Marko Rume, ex- M. P. for Kajokeji has crossed into Uganda and joined the refugees there.

I have been to Nairobi and Addis Ababa and I am looking forward to visit England. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience,

Yours Sincerely,

W. Deng  
William Deng.

William Deng,

P. O. Box 1453, Kirk Street,  
Dar-Es-Salam, Tanganyika,  
East Africa.

26th August, 1961.

Reverend Michael Scott,  
African Bureau, Demison B.  
Great Southern Vauxhall,  
Bridge Road, London,  
England.

Dear Sir,

I am glad to know you through my friends and I may be able to meet you in the near future. I am a political refugee from the Southern Sudan and was forced to leave the Country in February this year. I used to be an Assistant District Commissioner in Equatoria Province which borders Uganda Protectorate.

You may have seen something about me in the London papers when Her Majesty's Government was contemplating to return me to the Arabs of the northern Sudan. I was however later given political asylum in East Africa, the actual place being Uganda. For this I thank God, the British Public who opposed the Government and also the British Constitution where there is little room for injustice.

I passed through Nairobi, Kenya and while negotiations were going on about me, I was being looked after in the Friends Centre by Rev. Michael Pittard of the Quaker's Church. I am a Roman Catholic but I belong to a group of Christians which does not use a magnifying glass when looking at differences between various Christian Sects. I find who became Muslims have gained they have become status-Christians. I can only see a big difference between Christian Churches and other religions. In fact I recently, about the 4th of July, addressed a meeting by members of the Christian Council of Kenya, at an invitation by an African Secretary of the Council, Mr. Shem Ombuya, Box 5009 Nairobi. The European members at

the meeting described my talk as "a most illuminating talk" on the Southern Sudan.

At present, the situation in the Southern Sudan is as depressing as it was during the period of Arab slave-raids on the South. There are now over 10,000 refugees in Uganda alone and about 5,000 scattered between the Congo and Central African Republic (formerly known as French Equatorial Africa). About 2500 are in Ethiopia.

As there is no agreed constitution yet, we are not bound to the Arab North and ~~we~~ we have decided to separate rather than secede. The word secession gives the meaning of coming away from an integral whole which is not the case with us. Ours is separation which gives the sense of separating people who have been fighting and indeed we have fought with the Arabs since the begining of Sudan history until the present day. We want self-determination and nothing short of that will do.

If in 1885 General Gordon knew that the British Government would sell us to the Arabs for doubtful political gains, he ~~not~~ would not have sacrificed his life to the Arabs in order to save the South from slavery. The failure of the British Government to save General Gordon and their failure over the Suez Canal and the Southern Sudan proves that the British Government can make serious mistakes and it therefore needs advice from Church men who combine religious with political experience. We therefore need your help both moral and material. The Church is the custodian of civilization which the materialists now want to destroy.

The Arabs want to replace Christianity with Islam in the South but Islam is such a backward religion that we can hardly gain anything from it, ~~anywhere~~ than what the Southern slaves who became Muslims have gained; they have become stateless society leading a most disgruntled life on earth.

We now have a Christian Association in Uganda with almost equal membership from the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian denominations. This Association has a branch in Addis Ababa and its membership includes six refugee ex-members of the dissolved Sudan Sudan Parliament and three Senior Administrators as shown below:

✓ 1. Mr. H. Saturino Lohure Torit North Constituency

✓ 2. Mr. Joseph Oduho, Torit Central "

✓ 3. Mr. Ferdinand Adyang, (former Minister) Kapoeta "

✓ 4. Mr. Pancrasio O. Acholi "

✓ 5. Mr. Nathaniel Oyet Kapoet Central "

✓ 6. Mr. Marko Rume Kajokeji "

✓ 7. Mr. Clement Mboro Deputy Governor formerly, last post Port Sudan

✓ 8. Mr. Aggrey Gaden Iedo, former Assistant District Commissioner, last post Malakal

✓ 9. Mr. William Deng, " " " " " " Kapoeta

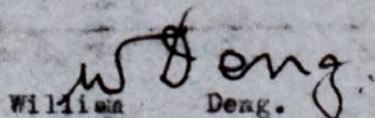
We are finding a lot of sympathy from African political leaders in East Africa and the chances are that they may come to our side and the chances are also that we may join the Commonwealth through the Federation of East Africa but we leave that as a question mark; that will have to be decided by the people as a whole in the South and it will also depend on the interest shown to us by the neighbouring African tribes. Our most difficult time is between now and independence of East Africa particularly Uganda and Kenya. The British Government as represented in East Africa is afraid of us because they think that we might cause a flare up before handing over political power to Africans but we are not fools to do that at the moment. What we rather need now is as much quiet contacts as possible but we cannot even do this effectively for lack of funds. We would therefore ask you for financial assistance to enable us run the Christian Association. If you could invite me and arrange my transport to England, I could come as a quiet guest and discuss details with you personally. This will give me an opportunity to see in England some of my friends who were forced to leave the Southern Sudan against the wish of the Southerners by

I enclose herewith a copy of a short memorandum on the Southern Sudan which I hope will give you a fair picture of the situation. What is discussed in the letter and the memorandum is no emotion, neither is it religious fanaticism but it is a matter which affects great principles interwoven in the lives of the Africans of the Southern Sudan. It seems that the highest common multiple of all freedoms is political freedom without which other freedoms would be difficult to practice. Without political freedom religious freedom is almost impossible to practice particularly when dealing with an uncivilized heart.

Publicity of this material would be most desirable but remember that certain points are confidential and were meant for you only or men of your standing and understanding. It is not yet too late to win our freedom. In fact there are big chances if and only if we can get the right help, at the right time and at the right moment.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
William Deng.

(On behalf of Southern Sudan Refugees Christian Association)

The worsening conditions of the Africans in the Southern Sudan under the ruthless Arab regime has necessitated our leaving the Country with the hope of publicising the plight of our people from the World's public forum. The following survey is a first-hand information for understanding the difficult situation in which the Africans in the Sudan are placed.

The Sudan is geographically and ethnically divided in two parts, the North which is mainly occupied by the Arabs; and the South which is African. The Arabs constitute thirty-nine percent of the Country's population of ten million inhabitants. The African South has four to five million inhabitants. During the last fifty years of Anglo-Egyptian rule the two parts were administered separately; the North being wholly Muslim and predominantly Arab while the South was predominantly Christian put together with their pagan sympathisers. This position is still true up to this moment. Because of the bad relations between the Arabs and Africans, the former were not allowed to come to the South except under a licence to trade. Only Christian Missionaries of various denominations imparted education in the South.

In 1947 the British Government decided to start a policy of uniting the South with the North while the policy had been to develop the "South on" African and Negroid lines". The reasons for this move were suspected by the Southerners to have been connected with Britain's own interests in the Middle East because the Africans of the South were not consulted. The British Government however had hoped that some kind of solution would be found while they were still there but events moved faster than what they had expected and they were forced to leave things half way and pack. They had miscalculated as many British admitted later. From that time onwards against the protests of the African Arabs were flocking South as Government officials, merchants and traders. On 12th February 1953 a final agreement of unity was signed in Cairo between Britain on one side and the Arabs ( both Egyptians and Northern Sudanese) on the other.

Africans were not represented. That Agreement became the Self-Government Statute. It was not discussed in the Sudan Parliament in which the Africans were represented but was simply promulgated by the Governor-General. During the transitional period of self-rule the Africans strongly objected to the unity on the grounds that the South differed from the North in race, culture, religion, the general back-ground, mental outlook and in all other respects. History repeats itself. It was therefore feared by the Southerners that the Arabs would revive slavery and this fear has or is becoming true although in a different form. The Africans were heard.

On the 18th of August, 1956 the Africans revolted against the Arabs and freed the South from Arab colonisation but the British Government intervened through the Governor-General who asked the Africans to put down their arms and he promised to see to it that Africans' grievances were redressed. Then this was done, the Governor-General failed for one reason or another and he left the Africans unarmed in the hands of the well armed, enraged and "avenging" Arabs. Arab cruelty therefore expressed itself in all its savage forms. Hundreds of Africans were shot and thousands were jailed for sentences ranging from five years to life imprisonment. The prisoners were given hard labour in the Northern prisons where many of them died and some are still there to-day.

In 1956, the Arabs declared the Sudan independent. Egypt and England accepted it under the agreement of 1953 in which the South was not represented. In 1968 a Constituent Assembly was formed to draft a permanent constitution for the country. The Africans made it clear that the South must separate from the Arab North. After months of discussion the Africans accepted a Federal form of Government as the only possible compromise and made it clear that if this were turned down the alternative would be complete separation. The Arabs refused and their politicians decided to hand over the Government to the Army in which the South is not represented. This is how the Army came into power in the Sudan on 17th November, 1968. Since then the Army regime is carrying out the policy laid by their Arab politicians.

do not fear for the Southern question because they are backed by arms. The aim of the policy is the extension of the Arab World into the interior of Africa as far as the source of the Nile which is in Uganda and perhaps further if not checked. In other words the Arabs intend to replace the European colonialism in Africa with their own colonialism for a permanent domination of Africa. This policy is now being experimented in the Sudan in the African South. The methods applied are the age-long Arabisation process. Arabs are fast settling in the South taking to themselves African women and girls as concubines and through rapes in order to produce an Arab progeny in the South. This will only complicate the problem because the children from African concubine girls taken during slavery have no status today in the North and they are leading a most disgruntled life. The African female parent is abandoned in the street if the Arab happens to leave for the North. Arab settlers backed by the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Judiciary all of which are in the Arab hands, take the best part of the land from the Africans who are forced by the terrible circumstances either to work as a servant under the Arab master or forced to seek a dwelling in a poorer part of the country. African population is being reduced into a servile community.

At the expense of Christianity Islam is being now propagated throughout the South directly by the Government through the Ministry of religious Affairs. The Government builds Mosques and Khelwas (Khurasic schools). All Arabs in the South are Missionaries to a <sup>more</sup> or less degree. Chiefs are forced to become muslims; results of the conversions to Islam are announced now and then from the national Broadcasting Station of Omdurman. Arabic has been declared since independence the only national and official language of the Country; it is the medium of education and even the African native languages must be written if at all in Arabic letters of the Alphabet not in the Roman characters as was the case during the past fifty years. As far as education alone is concerned, the language problem has set the South thirty to forty years back. It is used as a means of eliminating Africans from Government jobs with the result that only Arabs are now occupying all posts throughout the country.

The few Africans holding posts most of which are very insignificant may be removed if the African freedom movement fails and this will mainly depend on the amount of support they will get from the neighbouring African countries since any movement within the Sudan is ruthlessly crushed to the extent of shooting children and women.

Christianity is the main target of destruction in the Sudan. Arabs have their reasons: They are aware that the South belongs to the African Negroid World and not to the Arab World; they are aware that the South has a strong Christian outlook with nearly five hundred thousand Christians; that the ten thousand African muslims are in complete accord with their Christian nationals in their demand of freedom; that the pagans of the South have strong and lasting sympathies with Christianity the members of which are found almost in every African family and which yearly receives thousands of the pagans into the Church; they are also aware that the Countries bordering the South such as Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia the Congo and Central African Republic are predominantly Christian in outlook; that the present political boundaries are not in the least ethnical with the result that many tribes at these borders are partly in the Sudan and partly in all adjacent Countries; they are aware ~~fully~~ that unless something be done now to isolate the Africans of the South from their natural neighbours in the above - mentioned Countries, the South might be lost if it links with a black African Country. Such a link however is inevitable if African Unity means anything. Islam is the only means of isolation and must therefore be propagated as fast as can be possibly done. Christianity the antithesis of Islam must be fought tooth and nail.

Pressure is put to bear on the Missionaries so that they may quit the Country. Thirty to forty Missionaries have been expelled from the South after farcical trials based on unfounded accusations. The Government sees to it that those still in the Sudan should be kept off contacts with their Christians and in certain zones the Missionaries are not allowed to visit their faithfuls. Economic pressure is another way of fighting Christianity with the hope that this might force the Missionaries to leave the Country. All Missionary workshops have been closed down despite the fact that they are used to train Africans in various crafts.

Missionaries are forbidden to sell anything they produce such as furniture, vegetables, fruits, coffee etc. Missionary hospitals, maternity houses, dispensaries and even bookshops which provide varied literature are closed. Missionaries who used to work in civil hospitals have been sacked. No Missionary is allowed to give a pill to a patient even on cases of emergencies.

As early as 1956 all Mission schools in the South were taken by the Government and since then no private schools are allowed in the South whereas in the North private bodies are having schools. For instance the Egyptian Government maintains a complete University, Secondary and Primary schools as the following extract from the Official handbook Sudan Almanac, 1960 shows:

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| Egyptian schools, including one University | : | 68  |
| Community schools mainly Middle Eastern    | : | 75  |
| Local private schools (Balis)              | : | 68  |
| Total                                      | : | 203 |

H. H. The Egyptian private schools in the North are almost one third of the total number of schools provided by the Government in the north and the most important subject taught in these schools is Arab unity. Egypt thereby hopes to absorb the North and along with it the South is by then we are not yet free. If absorption succeeds, our position will be even worse because instead of one we will be having two wolves competing to exploit the the South for their own ends.

The next move after the take-over of the Mission schools is now to shift all schools' children from the Mission premises to newly built Government schools far from the Mission Stations. The new schools have a Koranic school attached from which the intake to Government elementary schools is drawn. Christian parents are left with no choice other than accepting an Islamic education or do without education at all. In this way Christians and persons alike are forced to accept Islam.

Though thirty-nine percent of the Country's population the Arabs to-day are in power controlling the administration, the Army, the Police and the Judiciary.

In 1960 the Arabs' regime declared Sunday a working day in the Christian South with their Muslim Friday as resting day throughout the Sudan.

Economically the South is completely neglected. In the seven-year plan which involves a capital expenditure of 27,000,000 pounds the South gets no share. The South is kept for the time being as a main supplier of raw materials to the Arab North. For instance Africans are made to grow tobacco but the tobacco factories are in the North; papirus is taken from the South to ~~Arabia~~ paper-factories in the North; sugar-cane which has natural climatic conditions in the South is being grown in very unclimatic conditions of the North. It has been made known that the South will only be developed when and only when it is racially absorbed by the Arab North but that is the very idea which the South wants to oppose by all means.

Until to-day the Sudan has no constitution because the Africans who form sixty-one percent of the population have always objected to a unitary form of constitution as claimed by the Arabs. To get their constitution through the Arabs had planned to detain in jail all influential Africans. Number of ex-members of Parliament were arrested, tried and imprisoned as the following list shows:

|                                 |                     |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Rev. Fr. Paulino Bogale      | 12 years            |
| 2. Mr. Dominic Maorwel          | 10 "                |
| 3. " Ezibon Mandiri             | 10 "                |
| 4. " <del>Mr.</del> Amilio Dhol | 5 "                 |
| 5. " James Jokweth              | 5 "                 |
| 6. " Peter Igom                 | 3 "                 |
| 7. Albino Arot                  | 3 "                 |
| 8. " Samuel Fomisi              | 5 5 years of exile. |

To this number could be added ~~hundreds~~ ~~hundreds~~ hundreds and hundreds of civilian Africans from every walk of life that are ~~in~~ that ~~in~~ swarming prisons throughout the Sudan simply because they are disgusted of the Arab rule. Finally the Sudan Government decided to arrest the remaining African leaders of the South most of whom managed to escape into Uganda early this year. They consist of six Members of the dissolved Parliament and three

Administrators. This shot up the number of refugees in Uganda to well over ten thousand; there are five thousand scattered between the Congo and French Equatorial Africa, now known as Central African Republic; there are five hundred refugees in Ethiopia.

Publicity in the Sudan is strictly off forbidden by Arab regime and by the use of closed Districts Order, journalists are prevented from going to the southern Sudan. The refugees met with a similar restrictions in Uganda where they <sup>were</sup> given political asylum because the British Government in Uganda thought that any publicity might affect their relations with the Arabs. This is one of the main reasons why nothing much is known about our case. As matter of fact we still have no fighting guerrilla war-fare with the Arabs to-day. It is our hope that African governments will give us more freedom when East Africa becomes independent. Our link with a black African country will be of great mutual benefit to Africa economically, culturally and even in matters of security. The South is 80,000 square miles i.e. about the size of Uganda and Kenya put together and it is well-equipped in a variety of resources. To prevent any domination and exploitation by the Arabs, non-Africans would ~~not~~ appear in practical terms to mean regrouping of black Africans just as the Arabs (now the Africans of North Africa) have done by forming the Arab League.

While in East Africa we refugees from the Southern Sudan intend to keep alive

two organisations on which we pin our last hope for freedom. The organisations are: 1. Southern Africa's Refugee Christian Association which has membership from Christians of ~~all~~ various denominations and the aim is to keep the true Christian spirit amongst the refugees in East Africa.

2. A new political party (in place of the dissolved one) known as Southern African Liberation Movement or for short S. A. L. M. to publicise the plight of the 4 million Africans now oppressed by the Afrikaner. Our main difficulty at the moment in running these Organisations is the lack of funds.

Signed by William [unclear] (on behalf of refugees)  
(on behalf of refugees.)

V

North and East African Department

1961

SUDAN

VS 1821/68.

FROM Mr. Brenchley,  
Khartoum.

## SUBJECT :

Sudan refugees -

Mr. Brenchley presented the revised Note  
to the P. U. S. for Foreign Affairs.

Mohammed Elman Yassein's reaction.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 791

Dated Oct. 12.

Received Oct. 13.

1821

## References

166.

## MINUTES

Copy to Mr. Webster, Colonial Office.

LMS  
16/10

## (Printing Instructions)

## (Outward Action)

8b) Mr. Webster, C. O. D. 17

(Action completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

26/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

Mr. Brenchley

DISTRIBUTION

No. 791

D: 1.14 p.m. October 12, 1961

October 12, 1961

R: 1.32 p.m. October 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 791 of October 12  
Repeated for information to:

Governor Uganda  
Governor Tanganyika

and Saving to:

Governor Kenya [all personal]

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
13 OCT 1961

VS1821/68

Scrivener's letter VS1821/66 of October 9: Sudanese  
Refugees.

In the absence of Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs in the United States, I today delivered to the Permanent Under Secretary of State of the Ministry revised Note as agreed with the Colonial Office. I made oral points about the attitude of African ministers and the tightening up of surveillance in Uganda.

2. Mohammed Osman Yassein, who has always held strong views on this subject, reacted even more violently than I expected. He continually interrupted my statement of the position and treated me to a long angry outburst in Arabic at the end of it. The main points he made were:

- (a) Her Majesty's Government were still responsible for Uganda and Tanganyika and could not shuffle off their responsibilities on to African ministers or anyone else.
- (b) In any case, if we had returned refugees as soon as they were discovered we should have acted before Tanganyika and Uganda had approached so close to independence.

/(c)

CONFIDENTIAL

13 OCT 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Khartoum telegram No. 791 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

- (c) If the Governments in British East Africa were not prepared to cooperate with the Sudan Government, the Sudan Government would have to act accordingly in its dealings with them.
- (d) Promises of surveillance were evidently worthless and he could only conclude that many authorities [grps. undec.] plot to infiltrate the whole of East and Central Africa including Southern Sudan.

3. I did my best to counter these wild charges despite the weakness of our position on certain points. My guess is that when he has had time to think things over he will simmer down and that reaction from other members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be mild by comparison. Some officials of the Ministry of the Interior may have strong feelings but they too will no doubt get over them. The Minister of the Interior is also in the United States but I will speak to him on his return.

Foreign Office pass Governors Uganda 61 and Tanganyika 17 and Saving Governor Kenya 24.

[Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition to Uganda and Tanganyika. Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition saving to Kenya]

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V

North and East African Department

1961

VS 1821/69

SUDAN

FROM (C.O. communicated)  
Mr Henry Clarke  
M.P. to  
Mr Mandling.  
No.  
Dated Oct. 24.  
Received Oct. 30.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -  
Encloses a letter from WILHELM DENG  
complaining about restrictions on his  
movements in East Africa.

References

170 171.

MINUTES

See -/71.

Feb  
3/10.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

170/2/10/61

(Main Indexed)

170/2/10/62

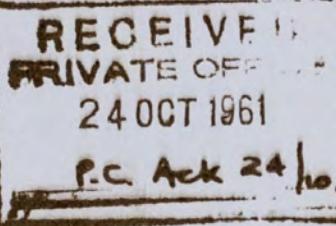
From Henry M. Clark, M.P.

RECEIVED IN

PRIVATE OFFICES

20 OCT 1961 House of Commons,

173



VS 1821/69

London, S.W.1

24th October, 1961.

Dear Maudling

When I was in Dar es Salaam in September this year, I visited the P.A.F.M.E.C.A. offices, and by chance met one William Deng, who was at one time an Administrative Officer in the Southern Sudan, and is now a political refugee in British East Africa. I enclose a letter from Mr. Deng in which he asks that the restrictions on his movements in East Africa should be raised, and that he and his friends should have complete freedom of movement.

The position with regard to these political refugees from the Southern Sudan is obviously an extremely difficult one, for while we wish to maintain the friendliest possible relations with Khartoum, there is very widespread sympathy for the position of the Southern Sudan, both in East Africa and in this country. Mr. Deng on more than one occasion when I was talking to him said "we Africans have found that the Arabs are very cruel people indeed, and in the Southern Sudan we must fight for our freedom much more fiercely than the people of East Africa have had to fight for independence." It strikes me that these agitators can be both a liability and at the same time an asset in any negotiations that we have with Khartoum, and that their position should be kept carefully under review. Mr. Deng claims that as well as the twelve or fifteen principle political refugees there are ten to twenty thousand Sudanese refugees in Uganda, who have crossed the border for one reason or another.

I have replied to Mr. Deng's letter that I would be delighted to further his claims for greater freedom of movement within East Africa, but I can clearly do nothing to assist his fight for Southern Sudan's independence. I thought you would be interested to look into this matter.

The Rt. Hon. Reginald Maudling, M.P.,  
Colonial Office,  
Great Smith Street,  
London, S.W. 1.

yours sincerely  
Henry Clark

P. O. Box 1453,  
Kirk Street, Dar-Es-Salaam,  
Tanganyika, East Africa.  
9th September, 1961.

Mr. Henry Clark, M. P.

House of Commons,

London.

Dear Sir,

Reference our short meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam when you were here recently. I have informed the other refugees from Southern Sudan that you were going to take action which might remove the restrictions imposed upon us by the East African Governments. We would therefore be grateful to know what the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod is doing for us. The passports of Mr. Saturnine H. Leure and Mr. Joseph Oduhe were taken away by the Uganda Government and strict conditions for our stay were issued of which I quote the following in my case: "..... This Permit is valid from 5th April, 1961 to 31st December, 1961, and is subject to the following conditions:- You will proceed to Kampala and remain within a 10-mile radius of that town. If you wish to leave Kampala you will obtain permission in writing from the Resident Buganda. You will report to the Resident Buganda once per week. Whilst within the Uganda Protectorate you will not indulge in any political activity."

The three of us therefore decided to come to Tanganyika where we had hoped to have more freedom but again we met with difficulties; the following orders were issued to us: "To report to the Immigration Department once per week; not to leave Dar es Salaam; to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam; not to make any statement to the Press or to seek publicity in any way." If it is the British Government which is standing in our way, then we do not know what wrong we have done to deserve this kind of treatment. We had nothing against the British Colonial administration in the Sudan because we in the South still needed British protection until such time we were in a position to decide our own future and our choice would have been to link with our brothers in East Africa.

which is now becoming independent. Through miscalculations, we were handed over to the Arabs who are now enslaving us. If the oppressed people in the World can publicise their case ( and I have seen such publicity even against the British Government as regards colonies) why should we be prevented from publicising our plight? Whatever political gains the British Government may expect from the Arabs of the Sudan, the restrictions are incompatible with the British system of justice.

From my own knowledge as an ~~exp~~ ex-administrator the Arab foreign policy is not in favour of Britain. The Military-take-over of Government which at one time some Western Powers thought to be a good move has produced exactly the opposite results. Nasser of Egypt and the Communists countries are finding General Abboud a good agent and the latter is now employing tactics in order to gain sufficient strength for a complete about-turn from the West. To add the 4 million Africans of the South to Arab World against their will weakens the position of black Africans for who knows where the ambitions of Nasser will end. Abboud is no longer bound by public opinion and with the arrest of the son of Mahdi Abdalla Khalil and other leading politicians, the pro-Egypt and/or communist elements have gained the upper hand in the Northern Sudan.

To continue to stand on our way does not therefore appear to favour in the long run the British Government or the Southern Sudanese. We appear to be used as a pawn in Anglo-Arab politics. We should be allowed to inform quietly the African political leaders who might come to our aid. Remember "Justice delayed is justice denied."

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Yours Sincerely,

W<sup>illiam</sup> D<sup>eng</sup>  
William Deng.

1961

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/70

SUDAN

FROM Colonial Office  
(to Tanganyika)

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 456

Dated Oct. 26.

Received Oct. 30.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees -  
DENG's letter to Mr. Clark M.P.  
Asks for details of restrictions  
imposed on DENG by the Tanganyika  
Govt. (P.W.)

References

169. /71

MINUTES

A) Tanganyika to C.O. (comd) 389 - 27/10.

See -/71.

tel  
31/10.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

W.M.  
2/12/61.

(Main Indexed)

ad  
9/11/62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**OUTWARD TELEGRAM**

**FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

**TO TANGANYIKA (Sir R.G. Turnbull)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

EAF/430/671/02 OCT 1961

Sent 26th October, 1961. 23.15 hrs.



**PRIORITY**

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**  
**PERSONAL NO. 456**

Your telegram Personal No. 359.

Deng.



Henry Clark, M.P. has asked for comments on a letter from Deng dated 9th September complaining about restrictions on his movements.

2. If you agree I propose to take line that Tanganyika Government cannot permit him to use territory as a base for political activities against the Sudan and (your telegram Personal No. 346) that Deng has given undertakings to comply with Tanganyika Government's requirements. I would also point out that Deng has already disregarded Uganda Government's requirements and that this underlines necessity for controls.

3. Above is on assumption that this is matter within your discretion. Otherwise I would inform Clark that it is within competence of Tanganyika Government and not a matter upon which H.M.G. could intervene.

4. Grateful to learn details and form of undertakings given by Deng, what restrictions are imposed on his movements, and under what authority.

**(Cost of telegram £6 3s. 9d.)**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**INWARD TELEGRAM**

**TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES**

**FROM TANGANYIKA (Sir R. Turnbull)**

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 27th October, 1961.  
R. 27th " " 16.10 hours.

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
20 OCT 1961

VS1821/10(A)

**PRIORITY**

**CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL**  
**PERSONAL No. 389**

VS1821

Your telegram Personal No.456.

Deng.

As you are aware action taken by Tanganyika Government in respect of Deng followed discussion I had with Minister for Home Affairs on receipt of your (?Uganda intended) telegram Personal No.39. Matter is however clearly within the competence of the Tanganyika Government whose attitude is as stated in my telegram Personal No.359. Suggest you take the line most advantageous to H.M.G.

2. Deng, who is a prohibited immigrant by definition under Immigration Ordinance Cap.386, has been required to sign an undertaking in the following terms:-

- (1) to report to Immigration Department once a week;
- (2) not to leave Dar es Salaam;
- (3) to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam to Immigration Department;
- (4) not to make any statement to press or to seek publicity in any way.

3. Authority for imposition of conditions on a prohibited immigrant is under Section 6 (1) of Cap. 386.

For your information, Deng is notoriously untruthful and unreliable.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

1961

FROM Colonial Office.

No. EAF/430/671/02.  
Dated Undated.  
Received Oct. 30.

References  
/69 . /70 .

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)  
7/12/61

(Main Indexed)  
9/11/62

V

North and East African Department

V51821/71.

SUDAN

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -  
DENG's letter to Mr Clark, M.P. -  
Draft reply to Mr Clark's letter  
of Oct. 24.

1821

MINUTES

See within.

1

SUDAN REFUGEES.

Please see, at -/69, a copy of Mr. Clark's letter of October 24 to the Colonial Secretary, enclosing a copy of a letter from William Deng. The Colonial Office have also sent us (at -/71) a copy of their proposed draft reply to Mr. Clark. They wd. like urgent clearance.

2. Mr. Clark is Ulster Unionist M.P. for Antrim N. and it is perhaps slightly ominous that he has replied to Mr. Deng saying that he "would be delighted to further his claims for greater freedom of movement within East Africa...."

So far as I know, this is the first time one of the Sudan refugees has appealed to a M.P. and we shall no doubt hear more of this.

3. I think we can accept the Co.'s draft reply but I have pencilled in some suggested

amendments/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

amendments designed to make a more convincing case. As it stands, I think the draft is perhaps a little wet and might be counter-productive.

fulfilled

30/10.

Mr. Scovener.

I agree with your amendment

N.S.

3/10

In Mr. Woolverton's absence, I passed the suggested amendments to Mr. Rolfe in the C.O. who agreed with them. He undertook to let us have 2 copies of the final version of the reply to Mr. Clark (who is, I now understand, an ex-D.C. in Tanganyika), one of which can be sent to Kharboum.

~~2. by 1 week.~~

ful

31/10.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

A) Colonial Office (copy of letter  
from Mr Mackellar to Mr Blank M.P.)

Oct. 31.

Ms  
4/12

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

M. Edes Esq Fo



*With the compliments of*

*H. Woollverton*



COLONIAL OFFICE  
GREAT SMITH STREET  
LONDON S.W.1

ZAF 430 (67) 102

Mr. Woolverton

Mr. Rolfe

Mr. West

LETTER

H. M. Clark, Esq., M.P.,  
House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1.

You wrote to me on the 24th October about William Deng, a Sudanese refugee in Tanganyika, who has complained about restrictions imposed on his movements.

I think it might be helpful if I explain the background to this case. Deng arrived in Kenya from the Sudan in February, 1961, seeking to join friends in Uganda where he wished to be granted political asylum. He was allowed to enter Uganda in March, 1961, and was issued with a permit under the terms of the Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance on condition that he did not engage in any political activities and that he did not leave the Protectorate without permission. He broke both these conditions in July by fleeing to Tanganyika from where he secured publication of an inflammatory letter in a Nairobi newspaper entitled "LET ME TELL THE WORLD OF MY PEOPLES' PLIGHT".

As you suggest, the Tanganyika Govt are anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Sudan ~~Govt~~ and they are not therefore disposed to allow Deng to use

Although Deng has been declared a prohibited immigrant in Tanganyika, the Tanganyika Government have allowed him to remain in the territory. [But the Tanganyika Government cannot risk the embarrassment of his using] the territory as a base for political activities against [the Sudan Government] <sup>therefore</sup> [and] For this reason he was required to sign an undertaking to report to the Immigration Department once a week, not to leave Dar es Salaam, to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam to the Immigration Department, and not to make any statements to the Press or to seek publicity in any way.

As Deng has already disregarded the requirements of the Uganda Government with embarrassing consequences, this underlines the necessity for control over his activities in Tanganyika. <sup>entirely</sup> But this is in any case a matter <sup>entirely</sup> within the competence of the Tanganyika Government and it is not, therefore, a question on which I could intervene.

In the circumstances, the restrictions appear to be reasonable and the Tanganyikan authorities are, of course, entitled

to impose conditions on a prohibited import under . . .

31st October, 1961

You wrote to me on the 24th October about William Deng, a Sudanese refugee in Tanganyika, who has complained about restrictions imposed on his movements.

I think it might be helpful if I explain the background to this case, Deng arrived in Kenya from the Sudan in February, 1961 seeking to join friends in Uganda where he wished to be granted political asylum. He was allowed to enter Uganda in March 1961, and was issued with a permit under the terms of the Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance on condition that he did not engage in any political activities and that he did not leave the Protectorate without permission. He broke both these conditions in July by fleeing to Tanganyika from where he secured publication of an inflammatory letter in a Nairobi newspaper entitled "LET ME TELL THE WORLD OF MY PEOPLES' FLIGHT".

Although Deng has been declared a prohibited immigrant in Tanganyika, the Tanganyika Government have allowed him to remain in the territory. As you suggest, the Tanganyika Government are anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Sudan Government and they are not therefore disposed to allow Deng to use the territory as a base for political activities against that Government. For this reason Deng was required to sign an undertaking to report to the Immigration Department once a week, not to leave Dar es Salaam, to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam to the Immigration Department, and not to make any statements to the Press or to seek publicity in any way.

As Deng has already disregarded the requirements of the Uganda Government with embarrassing consequences, this underlines the necessity for control over his activities in Tanganyika. In the circumstances, the restrictions appear to be reasonable and the Tanganyika authorities, are of course, entitled to impose conditions on prohibited immigrants under the Immigration Ordinance. But this is in any case a matter within the competence of the Tanganyika Government and it is not, therefore, a question on which I could intervene.

REGINALD MAUDLING

H. M. Clark Esq., M.P.



RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES

30 NOV 1961

VS1821 | 71(A)

*With the compliments of*  
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR THE COLONIES

*as requested by phone*

COLONIAL OFFICE  
GREAT SMITH STREET  
LONDON S.W.1

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS1821/72

FROM Chancery,  
Khartoum, to  
N.E.A.D.  
CONFIDENTIAL.  
No. 1591.  
Dated Nov. 8.  
Received Nov. 13.

## SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Colonel de Robeck has received  
another letter from DENG saying that  
he intends to remain in Tanganyika  
until independence.

1821

## References

/67.

In Dept. 13/11 (att/71)

## (Printing Instructions)

## (Outward Action)

## MINUTES

When Tanganyika becomes independent next month  
his position will largely fall to M. Nyere  
and his cabinet. It seems unlikely that  
Deng, Saturino or Odhilo will ever  
return openly to a British colonial territory.

20/11

Research Dept

(African Section)  
A.H.B.  
20/11

  
20/11

| (Action completed) | (Main Indexed) |
|--------------------|----------------|
| Deb.<br>29/11/62   | 11/11/62       |

CONFIDENTIAL

(1591)



✓ BRITISH EMBASSY,  
KHARTOUM.

November 8, 1961.

VS1821/67

Dear Department,

Will you please refer to our letter (1591) of October 3, with which we enclosed a copy of a letter sent to Colonel de Robeck by William Deng?

2. Colonel de Robeck tells us he received another letter from Deng about two weeks ago. In it Deng said he had been refused help by the religious organisation in the United Kingdom to which he had appealed. He said his intention now was to remain in Tanganyika until that territory becomes independent.

3. We are sending a copy of this letter to Dar es Salaam and to Entebbe.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY  
*CG*

North & East African Department,  
Foreign Office,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

SUDAN

VS 1821/73

FROM Mr Stackpole,  
Colonial Office,  
to Rhodes.

**SECRET**

No. EAF/430/671/02

Dated Nov. 16.

Received Nov. 20.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Escape of the refugees from Uganda.

Encloses a letter from Entebbe to the  
C.O. explaining delays in the detection  
of the ~~escapes~~ escapes.

References

VS 1821/58 156.

MINUTES

This doesn't add much.

Ans

23/4

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

| (Action completed) | (Main Indexed)  |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 588<br>29/11/61    | 161<br>29/11/61 |

SECRET

Not v. continuing.



COLONIAL OFFICE  
GREAT SMITH STREET, LONDON S.W.1  
Telephone: ABBey 1266, ext.

1) Mr. S. S. N. 17/11  
2) Enter

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
16 November, 1961.  
20 NOV 1961  
VS 1821/73  
VS 1821/58

Our reference: EAF. 430/671/02  
Your reference: VS 1821.

Dear Edes,

With reference to Mr. Heath's letter of the 8th September and to Lord Perth's reply of the 12th September about the Sudanese refugees, I enclose for the record a copy of a letter from Champion in Uganda which explains the steps taken to trace Saturnino and the other refugees when they disappeared.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Stacpoole

(J. W. Stacpoole)

M. EDES, ESQ.,  
Foreign Office.

SECRET

COPY

D.G. S.8306

Ministry of Security and  
External Relations,  
P.O. Box 101,  
Entebbe,  
Uganda.

4th November, 1961.

Dear John,

When the Governor was home for the Constitutional Conference he was given a copy of a note from Mr. Heath in the Foreign Office to Lord Perth dated 8th September about the Sudanese refugees. This letter contained a series of dates which led the Foreign Office to conclude that we had not been so spry as we might have been in keeping an eye on the refugees.

Although we must admit the arrangements we have been making for the surveillance of refugees were not as tight as perhaps they should have been the facts are not quite as bad as they would appear from Mr. Heath's letter. The actual facts are as follows:

(a) This Ministry noticed that Deng had not been reported as being present on the 31st May 1961 and on that date Special Branch were asked to find him. They unfortunately failed to do so and our first indication of his whereabouts was a report from our Embassy in Khartoum to the effect that the Sudanese had learned of his presence in Addis Ababa. It is clear that on this occasion our arrangements for surveillance of these Sudanese refugees were not sufficiently foolproof.

(b) So far as Saturnino is concerned, he failed to report to the Resident as he should have done on the 18th April, 1961. We immediately put into force arrangements for trying to trace him and Police throughout the Protectorate were alerted. You will recall that Saturnino was reliably reported to be at Gulu and we did not therefore wish to warn the Secretary of State that he had escaped from Uganda until we were quite sure that he had in fact done so. In the event we were misled by a most admirably executed decoy movement launched in the Northern Province with the assistance of the local African Brothers. One of our telegrams was unfortunately worded to give the impression that we knew nothing about Saturnino's escape until the Apostolic delegate saw His Excellency the Governor and stated that Saturnino was in Dar es Salaam. This, of course, was not the case and we were trying hard to find Saturnino at this time. The circumstances were of course, fully explained to Brenchley on his visit and this misunderstanding was cleared up.

(c) So far as Oduho is concerned, the circumstances concerning his escape are much the same as those concerning Saturnino except that he last failed to report on 11th July 1961 and the Resident's office did not inform us of this failure until 20th July. His absence from Uganda, however, was noticed before the 18th August and we had been trying to find him.

I do not think that there is any need for anyone to take this up with the Foreign Office again but you might like to have this on record in case of need.

Yours sincerely,

(J. S. Champion)

J. W. Stacpoole, Esq.,  
Colonial Office,  
The Church House,  
Great Smith Street, S.W.1.

